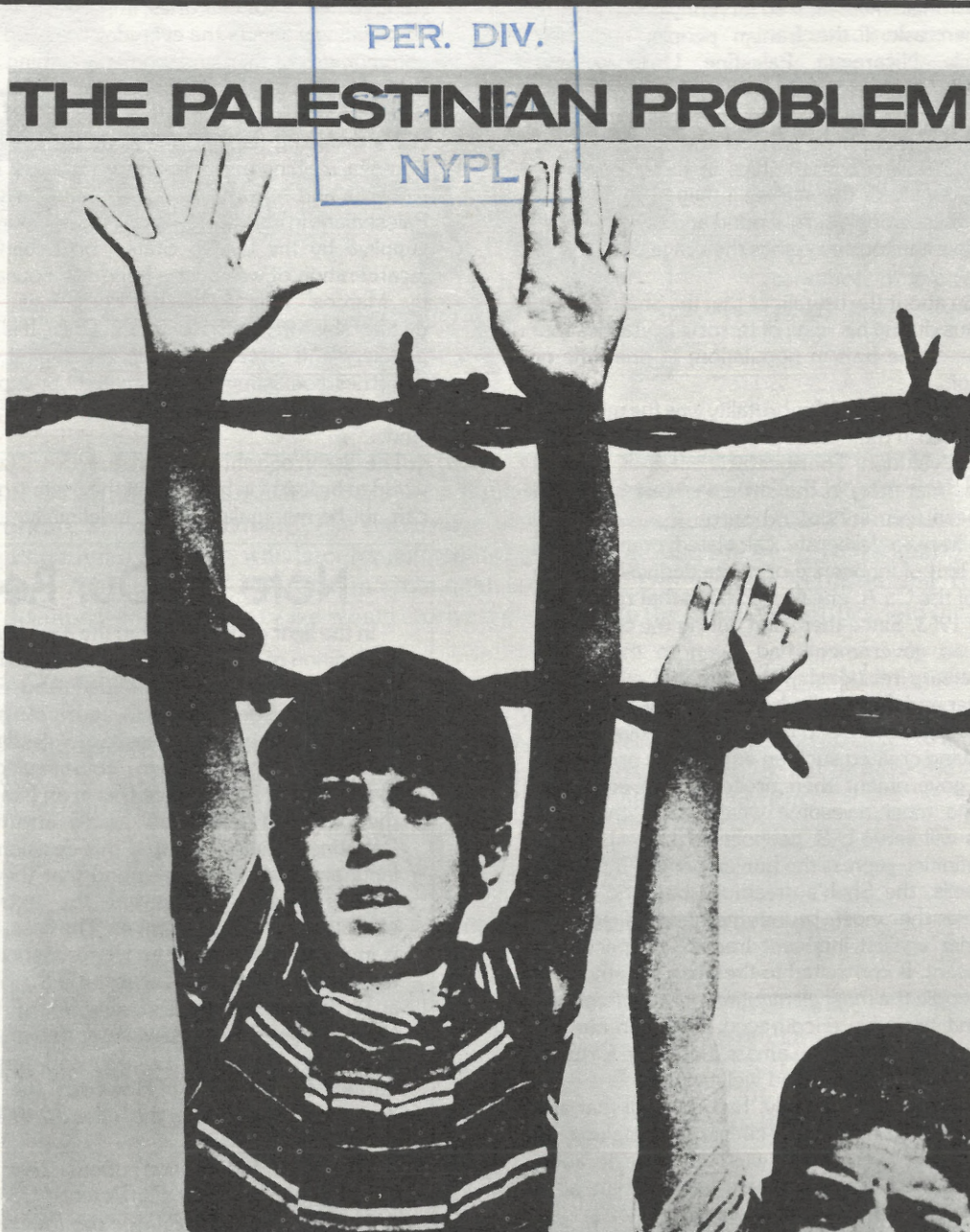


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Iran, Third World Peoples and U.S. Foreign Policy

The dramatic events in Iran have triggered, among other things, attacks on Iranians in the U.S. by some Americans, threats by the U.S. government to resurrect the long dead gun-boat diplomacy of the colonial era, and a not insignificant amount of intemperate language in the media (much of it racist) about Islam, the Iranian people and Third World societies. What the dramatic events in Iran did not trigger, alas, is a lot of soul searching by Americans about U.S. diplomacy and the role this diplomacy had played in oppressing peoples, robbing them (through the good offices of indigenous overlords) of their freedom and imposing on them, against their will, regimes responsive neither to their aspirations nor to their national sentiment.

Perhaps Americans should begin by asking themselves why their government, along with the Shah whom it installed in power against the will of the Iranian masses, is so fervently hated in Iran. Americans could then ask if the Iranian people, and their counterparts in Chile, Nicaragua, Palestine, Uruguay, and elsewhere in the Third World, are so unworthy of being the only determining force in their destiny that they need the American government to decide for them their political and social destiny, over their heads, by installing dictatorships in their countries. Americans, above all, could ask themselves if they have the right to be outraged when these people turn around and revolt against this oppression and spontaneously express their rage against it in their own unique way.

There is no question about the brutalities that the Shah inflicted on the mass of Iranians during his reign of terror—brutalities that virtually every sector of the Iranian population, at one time or another, was victim of.

Evidence of the pervasiveness of this brutality was the unity that the population manifested in their call for the ouster of the Shah in the early days of the revolution. The spectacle, after all, of three million demonstrators marching in the streets of one city is an event that had not been seen in human history.

American policy in Iran—a deliberate, calculated, premeditated policy devoid of any hint of innocence or misguidedness—began with the blatant act of the C.I.A.-engineered coup that reinstalled the Shah in power in 1953. Since then, and during the consistent support the American government had given to the Shah's dictatorship, an adversary relationship was created on the one hand between the ruler and the ruled in Iranian society, and on the other between the Iranian masses and the American government. Not satisfied with having created such an explosively oppressive condition, the U.S. government then proceeded to equip the Shah's army with the most awesome weapons, in the naive expectation that this will serve U.S. geopolitical interests in the Middle East and indefinitely repress the Iranian people. It trained, with the help of Israelis, the Shah's dreadfully barbaric *Savak* secret police, to use the most brutal methods of torture, repression and murder against innocent Iranians suspected of the least forms of dissent. It consented to the Shah's methods of denying the Iranian people the most elementary rights of freedom. And it winked at, and probably encouraged, the Shah and his family, along with their hangers-on, to amass incredible fortunes by robbing the country of its wealth and well-being.

The U.S. government, unquestionably, had done all that and more, and the crimes of the Shah of Iran constitute a catalogue of ruin that his people had had to endure for well over three decades. Without the support of the U.S. government for the Shah, all of this long suffering would not have been possible.

The dramatic events in Iran during the month of November, 1979, may be no more than a stark expression of the rage that

Iranians now feel at the American government for its complicity and direct involvement in imposing an intolerable historical experience of devastation and pain on their country.

One may argue, if one wishes, that this or that tactic should or should not have been adopted by the Iranian government in handling the siege of the U.S. embassy. But one can not argue that the Iranians, in their own genuine and spontaneous way, in a manner consistent with their process of historical transformation, in a flow of energy long suppressed and brutalized, have expressed their rage and revulsion at those whom they perceive as having been responsible for their suffering.

The events in Iran are a symptom—of a 20th century disease called imperialism.

In the Third World, where hundreds of millions of people had suffered from it for centuries, imperialism is a concrete reality that devastatingly affects the everyday lives and everyday concerns of communities of men and women yearning to be free.

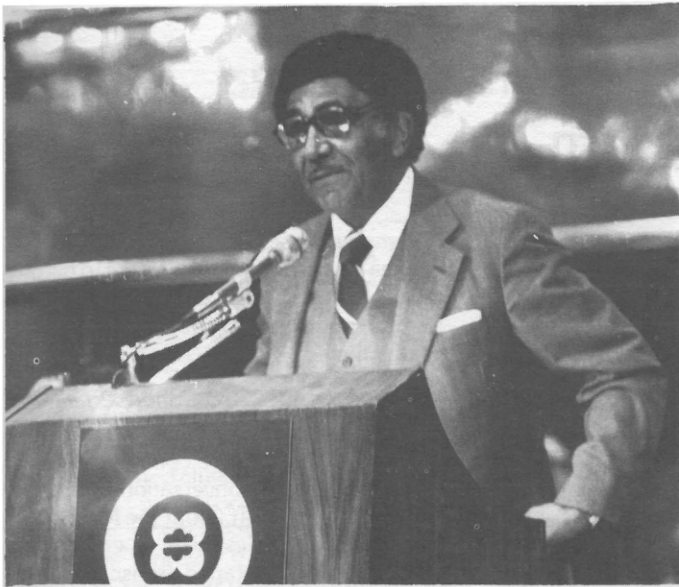
Imperialism has not been just the U.S. government's acquiescence in the barbaric savageries of the Shah of Iran. It is B52's dropping napalm on Vietnamese villages. It is Anastasio Somoza robbing and pillaging Nicaragua. It is the Camp David Accords and military occupation and torture by Israelis against Palestinians in Palestine. It is concussion bombs dropped by Israel, supplied by the United States, on Lebanese villages. It is the incarceration of well over a hundred thousand political prisoners by Marcos' regime in the Philippines. It is the terrors of dictatorships in South Korea and Chile. It is the spectacle of street peddlers and street people in the capital cities of Third World countries coexisting with a small, U.S.-supported elite in whose hands is often encapsulated all the wealth and the power in the land.

The lesson of Iran, and there are a lot of lessons for the Western world to be learnt in Iran, is that the destiny of Third World peoples can not be manipulated. Not indefinitely.

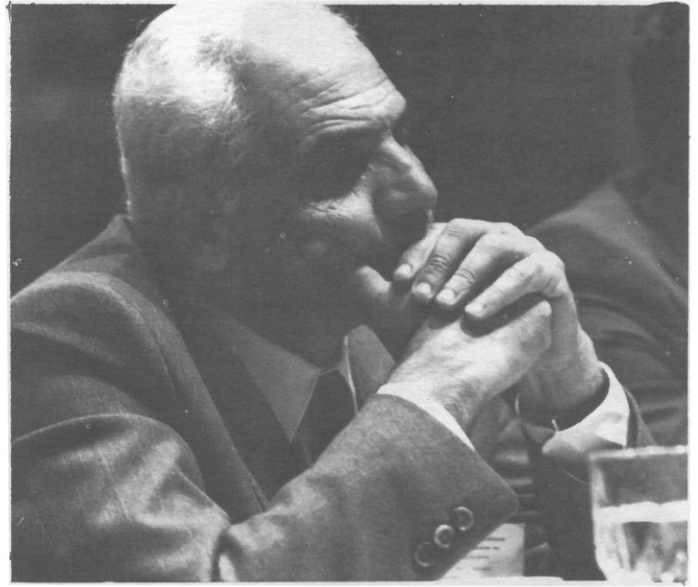
Note to Our Readers

In the light of the uproar in the American media about the extradition of the Shah, we would like to remind our readers of the urgent situation of Ziad Abu Ein, a 19 year old Palestinian from Ramallah, now in prison in Chicago (reported in the October issue of *Palestine Perspectives*). In December, the Chicago court ruled to uphold the extradition of Ziad to face trial in an Israeli military court in the occupied territories. Ziad's attorneys have advised *Palestine Perspectives* that this decision is contrary to the facts and law of the case and that they will file a writ of *habeas corpus* to prevent the extradition, which is scheduled for late December. The case, the attorneys note, is important for American jurisprudence, as it undermines the right of political asylum in the U.S., a right that should be accorded to Ziad, as testimony from Rabbi Elmer Berger, Hebron Mayor Fahd Kawasmeh and ex-State Department employee Alexandra U. Johnson amply demonstrated during Ziad's hearing. However, the U.S. government directly intervened in the case to influence the judge's decision.

For more information about Ziad and his defense, contact the Ziad Abu Ein Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5421, Chicago, Ill. 60680, or the Palestine Human Rights Campaign, 1322 18th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.



Reverend Lowery



Saleh Baransi

AAUG Convention Focuses on U.S. and Arab World

Addressing the Twelfth Annual Convention of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG), Reverend Joseph Lowery, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, noted: "Our lives today in the Middle East and the Midwest, in Beirut and Birmingham, are so inextricably bound together that decisions by a Prime Minister in the Middle East may have as much impact on the life of a Black child in Atlanta as the mayor of Atlanta."

Lowery's remark underscored the significance of the theme of this year's AAUG convention: "The United States and the Arab World: The Decade of the 1980s." That U.S.-Arab relations are at a critical juncture is amply attested to by the events of the past year. AAUG President Samih K. Farsoun, in reviewing the year in terms of these relations and the AAUG, called the year a "year of spectacles," in which the centerpiece of U.S. policy, the Camp David agreements and the Egyptian-Israeli treaty, "affirmed the historic injustice done the Palestinian people." Yet it was also a "year of awakening" for the Arab and Palestinian communities in the U.S., as protests erupted in twenty-six cities against the Egyptian-Israeli treaty, and a year of steadfastness for the Palestinian people as they rejected the "Palestinian reservation" offered them under the "autonomy" plan.

Lowery, whose own mission to the Middle East in September 1979 contributed substantially to bringing the truth about the Palestinian people to the American public, powerfully declared why Black leaders and organizations were interested in the Middle East, stating "Foreign policy takes bread

from the mouths of Black and Brown children."

"When I was in Southern Lebanon," Lowery affirmed, "I saw 100,000 Black jobs flying faster than the speed of light over my head," a reference to the sophisticated U.S. planes used by Israel to attack Lebanon. Noting both the human and material cost in the massive amount of U.S. weapons supplied Israel, Lowery said his mission was to "turn those cluster bombs into biscuits." To accomplish this, and bring peace with justice to the Middle East, Lowery said "We must stand together. Let us intensify our efforts in atonement for our failure to come together long ago."

The gains made in the "coming together" of the American and Palestinian people were also attested to in speeches by Reverend Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH, D.C. Delegate to the House of Representatives Walter Fauntroy and peace activist David Dellinger, as well as in a panel of five members of an AAUG fact-finding delegation, which visited Beirut in June 1979. Jackson urged that the U.S. talk to the PLO, saying, in a reference to the Iranian crisis, that "if America can talk to the PLO to protect American lives, it can talk to protect Palestinian lives."

Dellinger, who visited the occupied territories and Lebanon in July-August 1979, said his discussions with Israeli citizens and leaders made him fear an Israeli "pre-emptive strike" that would engulf the region in another war. An Israeli army major told Dellinger that Israeli would give "not one inch to the Arabs even if it means atomic flames in New York." Dellinger urged the creation of a "people's

movement" in the United States to counter U.S. policy and Israeli militarism. In his remarks, Dr. Edward Said also emphasized that the Palestinian and Arab communities must ally themselves with "oppositional" elements in American society, rather than defenders of the U.S. government and system. Constantine Zurayk, Professor Emeritus at the American University of Beirut, also argued that the hope for better Arab-American relations, now characterized by mistrust, disharmony and unequal development, lies in "progressive forces in both societies, struggling against any form of domination."

U.S. policy in the Middle East, which since the Iranian revolution has taken an increasingly militaristic posture, and, through the Egyptian-Israeli treaty, has affirmed the U.S. intention of continuing Palestinian oppression, was the subject of serious scrutiny by a number of panels. Michael Klare, a writer on U.S. military strategy, argued that U.S. direct military intervention in the region was a real possibility in the 1980s.

The response of the Arab World to these dangerous developments in U.S. policy and Israeli aggression were not so systematically discussed. In a speech that met with an enthusiastic response, Eqbal Ahmed of the Transnational Institute described some of the "terrible realities" in the Arab World today, among them that "Lebanon blew up in our faces and is being systematically torn apart while the Arab World has literally watched." Ahmed noted, however, that among the factors for optimism was that the Palestinian resistance movement, whatever

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The Shakaa Case: Mirror of The Occupation



Bassem Shak'a reunited with his family: victory for the Palestinian people and human rights.

On December 5, the Israeli military government backed down in its attempt to expel Bassem Shakaa, mayor of Nablus on the occupied West Bank, and released Shakaa from Ramle prison. Shakaa returned to a joyous reunion with his family and with the people of Nablus, whom he has ably defended—and to the realities of the twelve-year old military occupation, immediately at hand as the Israeli occupation announced on December 6 that it would crack down on Palestinian rallies in the West Bank and Gaza. Nonetheless, beyond the release of a popular, nationalist leader, the Shakaa case has created new bonds of unity and organization in the occupied territories, at a time when the Israeli occupation authorities are making a major push to implement their version of the autonomy plan. The Shakaa case, thus, provides a mirror of Israeli occupation and Palestinian resistance to it.

In June 1979, Bassem Shakaa, braved an Israeli-ordered court ban on demonstrations and led 1500 Palestinians in a protest against the illegal Israeli settlement

of Elon Moreh, established on private Palestinian land by the fanatic Gush Emunim settlers, whose stated goal is to encircle and eventually settle in the Palestinian town of Nablus.

At press time, Elon Moreh, although ordered dismantled by the Israeli Supreme Court in an October 22 decision, still stands on a hill above Nablus. On November 18, the Begin government postponed the scheduled dismantling of the illegal settlement. Settlers at Elon Moreh have repeatedly stated that they have no intention of obeying the court order. Gush Emunim spokeswoman Michal Shuvit declared in the November 18 *Jerusalem Post* that "Elon Moreh was, is and ever shall be."

That Shakaa, a Palestinian born in Nablus, was threatened with expulsion from his home, while settlers at Elon Moreh will, at the very most, be moved a few miles away to another West Bank settlement, is paradigmatic of the situation in the West Bank. The future hoped for by Shakaa and Palestinians under occupation and the future planned by the Gush and the Begin

government are on a collision course. Shakaa was punished for clinging to his own dream of the future and for voicing the aspirations of Palestinians under occupation.

"As Long as the Occupation Continues"

The justification for Shakaa's expulsion was initially stated to be comments Shakaa made in a private conversation with Israeli General Danny Matt about the March 1978 operation by Palestinian guerillas. The publication of the taped transcript of the conversation in the English-language *Jerusalem Post* has, however, shown that Shakaa, despite repeated attempts by Matt to provoke him into condoning violence, only told Matt that "as long as the occupation continues, it is expected that such action will continue."

After the release of the transcript, the Israeli authorities backed off from their original charges and began accusing Shakaa of "membership" in the PLO. West Bank mayors, who were swept into office on pro-PLO platforms in 1976 when the Israelis finally permitted municipal elections on the West Bank, openly affirm that the PLO is their representative. If this is what the Israelis now define as "membership," then all the mayors, and the population of the West Bank, stand in danger of the same fate as Shakaa.

In the case of the mayors, all of whom resigned in the wake of the expulsion order, Shakaa is only the most recent example of a campaign of harrassment, and denial of basic rights like freedom of movement and expression, that the Israelis have pursued since the Camp David agreements. As the autonomy talks falter, this campaign has intensified. West Bank elections are scheduled for April 1980, (although the date could be changed to fit the "autonomy" plan), and the Israelis realize the present Palestinian leadership will never accept "autonomy." Thus, it is imperative to silence or remove the mayors.

Already, Ramallah Mayor Khalaf and El Bireh Mayor Ibrahim Tawil faced a military trial in December for "having brought disgrace to their communities." This so-called "disgrace" occurred when the two mayors attempted to enter an Israeli courtroom where Israeli judges were ruling on the legality of Israeli land seizure near the two towns. Over a year later, this incident has been resurrected to attack two outspoken defenders of Palestinian rights

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Israeli Settlers Attack Palestinian Schoolgirls

The following account is taken from a New York Times article of November 29 by David K. Shipler.

JALAZOUN REFUGEE CAMP, Israeli-Occupied West Bank, Nov. 28—The Jalazoun Girls' School, which is run by the United Nations, was built with large windows to catch the sunlight that floods the nearby stony hills. Early on a typical morning, behind those panes, classrooms are filled with Palestinian girls aged 6 to 15, mostly from refugee families, jammed together on hard wooden benches for the first of the school's double sessions.

But this morning the classrooms were empty. A raw wind whipped through the shattered windows, across bare desks strewn with slivers of glass. On the concrete floors, glass crunched underfoot. Stones twice the size of a man's fist lay where they had fallen, hurled by six men in their late 20's and early 30's who, according to witnesses, wore yarmulkes, carried pistols and automatic rifles and spoke Hebrew.

Palestinians involved in the 30-minute incident yesterday morning asked that their names not be used for fear of reprisals by the Israeli military government, or by the United Nations refugee agency, which forbids its employees here to talk with the press.

The situation on the occupied West Bank has been tense since Israel arrested Bassam al-Shaka, the Arab mayor of the area's major city, Nablus.

Throughout the area, there have been scattered cases of Arab youths throwing stones at Israeli vehicles, and witnesses say that such an incident sparked the assault on the school. In the attack, the Palestinian witnesses said, two automobiles with Israeli license plates pulled up outside the school and six men got out brandishing weapons. Local Arabs believe they were religious zealots from a nearby Jewish settlement.

Three of the assailants chased the youths who had been throwing stones, according to the accounts, while the other three invaded the grounds of the campus-style school. An



Israeli soldier attacks Palestinian school girl in Jerusalem, 1976.

elderly Arab janitor who tried to stop them at the gate was seized, his arms twisted, his back bruised with stones and his knuckles
(Continued on page 11)

Shakka Case. . .

(Continued from page 4)

on the West Bank. Khalaf, speaking of the Shakaa case, said on November 14 that "It means they are going to get rid of the mayors and try to impose 'autonomy' on us."

This "autonomy", Israeli-style, was defined by Prime Minister Menahem Begin in a November 15, 1979 interview with the Swedish newspaper, *Svenka Dagbladet*. After reiterating his now-familiar position that "There is no question of a (Palestinian) state," Begin went on to say that the Palestinian "administrative council" proposed under the autonomy plan could not enact legislation. "We, for our part, could not accept a legislative assembly," Begin declared.

"A Jewish Quarter in Nablus"

The Israeli campaign to implement the autonomy plan, however, is not only a question of forcing Palestinians to accept a mode of government they do not want. The autonomy talks may be stalemated, but the Israeli settlement in the occupied territories has escalated. Settlement is the heart of the Israeli version of the autonomy-plan, a plan to establish Israeli sovereignty over the West Bank.

In the midst of the Shakaa affair, Begin announced the establishment of thirty-one new settlements on the West Bank over the

next three years. The settlement plan adopted November 15 calls for the Jewish population in the West Bank (excluding Jerusalem) to more than triple, and for housing units to increase by 15,000 in the same period. An Israeli official quoted in the *Washington Star* of November 16 envisioned at least 100,000 Jews settling in the West Bank in the next three years.

Alongside the official settlement plan, the Gush Emunim, at an "emergency" conference held at the Kadum settlement near Nablus, declared a new settlement campaign named "Makhpil" (Multiplier). As reported by the Jerusalem Domestic Service, the conference requested that "all settlements to establish an additional settlement in the vicinity of each of their settlements and to form new settlement nuclei."

On November 2, *Ma'ariv*, a Hebrew daily, reported rumors that the Gush Emunim had purchased, through middlemen, houses in the ancient walled center of Nablus, the Qasbah. In October, the Begin government opened up the West Bank to land purchase by private Israeli citizens, generating another round of international criticism. *Ma'ariv* quoted a Gush spokesperson as saying "Why not? We will buy another house and another house until there is a Jewish Quarter in Nablus." The Israeli Military Government, which itself confiscated 70,000 dunums of Palestinian land near the

West Bank town of Jenin on November 5 is unlikely to act as a deterrent to the Gush and other right-wing settlers' determination to invade Palestinian towns and attack Palestinians.

"We Are All Bassem Shakaa"

In addition to the resignation of the mayors, and of almost 250 other council members, large solidarity rallies in West Bank occurred in the days after Shakaa's expulsion order was announced. Hundreds of Nablus residents gathered at the municipal building on November 15, in defiance of bans against such demonstrations, and chanted, as reported in the *Washington Post* of November 16, "Palestine is Arab, Down with Zionism," and "If you want fedayeen, we are ready." Reading from a communique approved by all the mayors, Halhoul Mayor Mohamed Milhelm declared "We shall never kneel. We will never bow and we will never give up one grain of our soil... They think they will stop the flow of nationalism, but our people have been very quick to respond. We are standing as one man. We are all Bassem Shakaa."

The mayors' communique reflected the basic resolutions of Palestinians everywhere. It declared the PLO the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, demanded an independent state "on

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Yasser Arafat with children's delegation in Lisbon.

Report from Lisbon: World Conference Supports Palestinians

The World Conference in Solidarity with the Arab People and their Central Issue: Palestine, convened in Lisbon, Portugal from November 2-6. At the opening session, in which former Portuguese President Costa Gomes, among others, greeted the conference participants, PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat expressed his "gratitude for the efforts exerted by the delegations in preparation for guaranteeing the success of the Conference." He expressed the hope that the conference would consolidate international efforts to support the Palestinian struggle against racism, Zionism and imperialism.

The working sessions of the World Conference, in which more than 1000 delegates representing 325 international popular bodies, parties and organizations from over 100 countries participated, consisted of four commissions that met daily. Commission I dealt with the Arab struggle for total liberation; Commission II centered on the nature of imperialist, Zionist and reactionary forces attempts—with special emphasis on the recent Camp David agreements—to stifle popular liberation movements; Commission III discussed the status of the Arab territories occupied by

Israel; and Commission IV was a forum of parliamentarians, journalists, trade-unionists, and students and youth to organize an international solidarity program around the struggles of the Palestinian and Arab peoples.

In addition to these commissions, there were regional and international organizational forums which dealt with specific situations and correlated the Palestinian and Arab experiences with those of other areas of the world. These forums expressed the international solidarity between progressive organizations, peoples and parties of the world.

The U.S. delegation issued a statement to the Conference, denouncing the Camp David Accords, which "resulted in a treaty which was presented to the American people as a peace treaty but is in reality a military pact, heightening rather than reducing tensions in the region. It aggravates rather than solves the central problem in the Middle East by its denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to national self-determination." The statement analyzed the Camp David Treaty

as a cornerstone of U.S. policy to increase its military presence in the Middle East and to allow it the possibility of direct intervention in the region through the creation of a special 100,000 troop strike force.

The Lisbon Declaration, approved by the conference participants, called for total withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, restoration of human and political rights of the Palestinians, the reaffirmation of the Palestinian right to struggle in any manner for these rights, and support of the United Nations in its myriad condemnations of Israel. It also declared support for the progressive and patriotic forces in Lebanon struggling against indigenous fascist forces and Israeli aggression; support for Syria in the forefront of the Steadfastness Front, composed of Syria, Algeria, Libya, Democratic Yemen and the PLO; and support for national movements in the Arab Peninsula and the Gulf. The Declaration also called on the International Secretariat for Solidarity that organized the conference, to continue its work to further the objectives expressed in Lisbon.

Unity and Solidarity are Our People's Weapons

Following are excerpts from a Nov. 2 speech given by PLO chairman Yasir Arafat at the Lisbon World Conference in Solidarity with the Arab People and Their Central Cause: Palestine.

The year 1979, which U.S. imperialism and the Israeli enemy wanted to be the year of the liquidation of the PLO, became—thanks to your support and the backing of all brothers, friends, allies and all honest men—the year of consolidation and international recognition of the Palestinian people's rights.

There are today, an increasing number of countries that have understood that the so-called Camp David peace is but an aggressive alliance meant to impose a new form of slavery on the Palestinian people and the Arab nation. In fact, the international stands and resolutions: the Arab Summit resolutions, the Nonaligned state's resolutions, the principled and firm stand of the Socialist countries, headed by our friend, the Soviet Union, as well as the increasing recognition of the PLO in Europe and Latin America, all this confirms the insubstantial nature of the false Camp David peace. It represents a call for the collapse of that destructive alliance and for the recognition of the fact that no peace can be established in the Middle East without the Palestinian people.

The revolution of the Palestinian people is about to enter its 16th year of long term people's war. For the battle against imperialism, racism, Zionist terror and fascism, is a battle for civilization and a heroic feat waged by our people and nation. It forms the greatest contribution to the struggle to deliver mankind from racism and Zionism, the friend of the racist regimes, forces and states in Africa, Latin America, Asia and elsewhere. And Israel as you know is the ally of the racist regimes in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe. It was the ally of the regimes of Somoza, the Shah of Iran, and of Haile Selassie and is still the friend of Pinochet.

Your conference in turn represents a huge and effective contribution towards the consolidation of our steadfastness, by developing the means and forms of supporting our just and legitimate struggle to defeat racism, colonization, expansion, occupation, aggression and imperialist exploitation.

For without defeating aggression, there can be no peace in the Middle East; and without dislodging racist, expansionist,



Arafat greets native American delegate.

terrorist Zionism there can be no stability or peace in the Middle East. Passive acceptance of this source of aggression and racism threatens world peace and peaceful coexistence among peoples.

I would like to add here that imperialism and Zionism try to exploit the riches of our Arab land for use as a weapon to enslave our peoples and the peoples of the developing nations. We therefore struggle to turn Arab oil into the source of prosperity for our people and the people of the world instead of its being the source of their poverty and enslavement. I would not be broadcasting any secret if I told you that victory in the battle to liberate Palestine goes hand in hand with the battle for Arab oil.

Powder Keg About To Explode

Peace and stability will only be achieved in the Middle East with the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the forces of the Zionist aggressor from all Arab and Palestinian occupied territories, and when the Palestinian people have been able to exercise their inalienable national rights, including the right of return and self-determination without external interference, right to establish their own independent state on their national soil.

This is our people's message to all free and peace-loving peoples. It is an honest call for peace in the land of peace; for there can be no peace while our people are dispersed and our land occupied. We differentiate between peace and surrender; and those who ask for recognition of the fait accompli of Zionist occupation and settlement are in fact asking us to surrender to the will, power and oppression of the Israeli aggressor.

An although Sadat has accepted capitulation on the enemy's terms, the

people of Egypt will not forever accept to be transformed from a historic vanguard in the region to an occupied country, dependent on U.S. imperialism and world Zionism.

The Middle East is today a powder keg about to explode. For after 30 years of occupation and wars, a wave of wrath prevails in our countries against imperialist, Zionist plots. If the international community doesn't act at the appropriate time, the explosion will undoubtedly take place.

Therefore, we believe that the West European states—because of their special role in international politics and because of their vital relations with the Middle East—**must** take the initiative immediately, and shoulder their international responsibility as do the various other international groupings. Our stand regarding the European states is frank and practical and in harmony with the stands adopted by the Arab, Islamic, African and Nonaligned Summits, and by the Socialist bloc.

It consists of a serious and necessary contribution towards driving away the ghost of total explosion; setting the basis for the just and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people will only lead to further problems and destruction. We should not forget that the security of this region is linked to the security of the Mediterranean, of Europe, of Africa and of Asia—i.e., to the security of the whole world.

In the name of the PLO, and of the Palestinian people and revolutionaries who are resisting the most vicious imperialist-Zionist-fascist terrorist offensive, I say that at the same time as we are fighting fiercely and bravely, we look to all our brothers and comrades struggling in all parts of the world as being in the same trenches fighting imperialism, Zionism and colonialism.

Thus, we are with the people and revolutionaries in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia; we are with the peoples in all parts of the world where there is oppression, colonialism, slavery and racism.

We are with the militants striving for a bright future in which the banners of freedom, dignity and humanity are raised, and in which all can live in equality, justice and fraternity. We stand for social progress, prosperity, stability and peace based on justice for all peoples of the world, and for the freedom and independence of all its people.

Unity and solidarity are our people's weapons in their course towards victory and the realization of peace in the land of peace.

The Presidential Race: Candidates and the Middle East



Since the late 1940's, in every presidential election in the United States, the Middle East issue was fully debated and every presidential candidate has had to address himself to this topic. The 1980 elections promise not to be any different in this regard. Signs already point to the fact that this debate will be among the most important considered in the upcoming campaign period, even more so than in previous years. The significance of the Middle East issue to U.S. domestic politics, however, is not only the Middle East oil and other economic interests which are at stake, superpower politics, or even the security of the U.S., but also the clear realization on the part of every candidate that there is a block constituency in the American populace which votes based on the candidate's stand regarding the issues of the Middle East controversy. This very intense interest in the Middle East makes inseparable the issue of the Arab-Israeli conflict from that of American domestic politics. Britain's Foreign Secretary Bevin in the late 1940's was quoted to have said in this regard: "... in international affairs, I can not settle things if my problem is made the subject of local (U.S.) elections."

What Bevin said in the late forties applies even more today. Since the Truman Administration's one sided support of the Zionist goals in Palestine, granting

recognition of the state of Israel only thirteen minutes after it had been officially declared, every presidential candidate has more and more committed himself and the United States to support for the Zionist State. The 1980 elections are still one year away but already every candidate from both of the major parties and the minority parties has in some way addressed the Middle East issue and, not surprisingly, all have expressed support for Israel in varying degrees.

What the candidates say about the Middle East

Carter's position, if one could really be defined, has been of constant support for Israel but with intermittent lapses when he has delivered short-lived statements, interpreted at the time as evenhanded. A newcomer to the Washington and international scene, Jimmy Carter (from Georgia) began looking at the Middle East in a manner slightly different from his predecessors in the White House. A few presidents, unaware initially of the power of pressure groups in Washington, begin their terms by attempting to reflect an American foreign policy with a grain of morality extending beyond realpolitik. Following this pattern, Jimmy Carter agreed with the Soviet Union in October 1977, only ten months after assuming office, on a formula

towards the Middle East which became known as the Soviet-American Communique. This communique referred to a Palestinian homeland with international guarantees for the security of the state of Israel. It also called for the reconvening of the Geneva Conference in an expanded form.

The Israeli reaction to this early effort was not unpredictable and it foretold the change in the Carter approach which would follow. Any plan that speaks of a Palestinian homeland is expected to arouse Israeli anger and its automatic rejection—and so it went with this communique. After only eleven days of Israeli muscle-flexing, Carter was convinced of his mistake enough to refute his own plan. The American-Israeli working paper was released, retracting, in effect, the Soviet-American Communique. From that time until the present, the Carter Administration has acted within bounds clearly acceptable to Israeli interests regarding the Middle East.

In September 1978, Carter's efforts in the secluded Maryland mountain estate bore the Camp David agreements, which were interpreted by many American and Western political commentators as a major victory for Israeli Prime Minister Begin. The Arabs generally agreed with this assessment and with the fact that the Camp David agreements are a second Balfour Declaration. Carter, being unable or unwilling to pressure Begin, had turned instead to pressuring Sadat, from whom a positive reaction was more likely to materialize. Then, in March 1979 there was the unprecedented euphoric signing of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. Both the Camp David framework for peace and the so-called "peace treaty" were the best that Carter has to offer the Palestinians and the Arab people.

Needless to say, the best Arab friends of the United States interpreted the treaty as not meeting the minimum demands which they had put forth. Carter sent his best Middle East experts to twist some arms and threaten others and politely convince the rest to support his scheme for the Middle East, but has received no positive results to date. Now, with the coming of the 1980 elections and having experienced the influence of the Israeli lobby, Carter is not about to pressure Israel in any significant way, but rather will begin to compete with

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his Democratic challengers for the Jewish vote in America by promising more help for Israel. In pursuit of four more years in the White House, Carter will predictably increase his support for the Jewish State, contrary to some prevalent views about second term candidates. One reason is that there is more to U.S. support of Israel than the Jewish vote in America's presidential race; any candidate for the presidency must accept his party's platform on the issues.

Carter's record on the Palestinian issue as President is then clear. He supports Begin's definition of autonomy for the West Bank and Gaza, doesn't recognize the Palestinian people's right for self-determination, doesn't recognize the PLO as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and of course doesn't support the creation of an independent Palestinian state on land from which Israel would have to withdraw. In one of his news conferences, Carter said he believed that a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza would not be "helpful" for all in the area, including the Palestinians. On the other hand, he has repeated more than once, the U.S. is committed to Israel's safety and security, and its assistance economically, politically, and militarily.

Edward Kennedy

After several months of hesitation Senator Kennedy of Massachusetts declared his intention to seek the

presidency as a candidate from the Democratic Party, thus challenging the incumbent president who is from the same party. Kennedy, a senator since 1962 and known to belong to the liberal wing of his party, is on very good terms with the pro-Israel forces in the United States. The Jewish community in general, historically identifies with and votes for the Democratic Party. Between Carter and Kennedy, the Jewish vote is more likely to go to Kennedy than to Carter.

In a live interview on the National Broadcasting Co. (NBC) program, "Meet the Press", dated November 18, 1979, Kennedy was asked if he agrees with Carter's policy in the Middle East, if he agrees that Israel should not build anymore settlements on the West Bank and Gaza and if he supports the creation of a Palestinian homeland. The Senator's answer was clear: he said he "supports the Camp David accords." He then accused the Carter Administration of having a "muddled and confused" policy towards the PLO. The series of contacts between PLO and U.S. officials in Vienna (Sartawi and Ambassador Wolf), in New York (Terzi and Andrew Young), and in Algeria (Brzezinski and Arafat) are the reason for such confusion. The Senator obviously doesn't support any such contact, which implies some sort of recognition of the PLO.

Asked again if he believes that Israeli settlements on the West Bank are illegal, the official position of the U.S. Government, the

Senator said that he is interested in the situation in general there. Clearly, he did not want to come out against Israeli settlements in the occupied territories, a position adopted by the extreme majority of world governments. Senator Kennedy doesn't want to alienate the Jewish vote in the United States, which was a certainty had he opposed the official Israeli position. Kennedy went even further, however, than refusing to call Israeli settlements illegal; he said also, "I don't think we can butt on into internal matters." The settlements policy of Israel, then, in still contested territory, Kennedy sees as an "internal matter." He is in fact alleging the West Bank and Gaza as part of Israel, a position which even Israel itself has not officially adopted. Recently, Kennedy was quoted by the media to have said that the U.S. shouldn't negotiate with terrorist groups like the PLO.

On issues relating to the Middle East, Senator Kennedy's record is a verifiable proof of his strong support for Israel and thus lack of support for the Arab position. In 1978 the Senator's voting on eight issues directly relating to the Arab-Israeli conflict was eight votes in favor of Israel, and in 1979 in cases where there was an Israeli position versus an Arab one, he voted in Israel's favor five out of six times. Between 1973 and 1977, Kennedy voted in the Senate on the side of the Israeli lobby in 16 out of 18 times on issues relating to the Arab-Israeli conflict, making him one of Israel's most loyal Senators.

AAUG. . .

(Continued from page 3)

its mistakes, has created a "set of institutions and aspirations that cannot be defeated."

The aspirations and the determination of the Palestinian people were well-represented by Saleh Baransi, a political prisoner held in Israeli jails for ten years until his recent release. Baransi, speaking "on behalf of those who face the harsh Zionist regime," said that "The PLO is the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people everywhere, including those under occupation since 1948."

In addition to many other distinguished speakers, messages to the AAUG Convention were read from PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasser Arafat and from Mohammed Milhelm, mayor of Halhoul on the occupied West Bank. Milhelm, who along with Bassem Shaka, mayor of Nablus, was denied permission by the Israeli military authorities to travel to the U.S. to address the AAUG convention, described the difficult situation in the West Bank. "Mayors are being brought to court," Milhelm reported, "Bassem Shak'a is threatened by expulsion." "The solidarity

of the West Bank," he added, "is behind him 100%."

The solidarity of participants at the AAUG Convention was also behind Shak'a and the other West Bank mayors as several hundred people protested on November 10 at the U.S. State Department, demanding "Freedom for the mayors" and "Hands off Shak'a."

Shakaa Case. . .

(Continued from page 5)

the soil of Palestine," rejected the Camp David accords and the "autonomy" plan and demanded the release of Bassem Shakaa.

In addition, Peace Now and other peace groups have held large demonstrations in November demanding the immediate dismantling of Elon Moreh. As the Israeli economic crisis worsens, some sectors of the Israeli public have begun to link Begin's economic policies, which have cut basic subsidies for food and other vital commodities, to his reckless settlement policy. In a demonstration against the sharp rise in food prices this November, members of the Israeli Black Panthers, a group demanding equality for Oriental Jews,

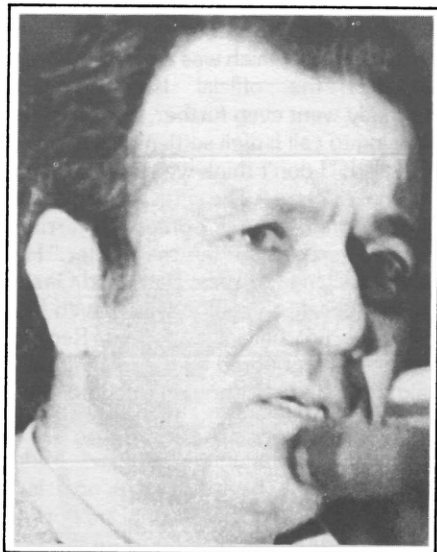
chanted "Down with food price hikes and settlements."

United Nations: 132-1 Support Shakaa

With the sole exception of Israel, the United Nations General Assembly voted 132-1 to condemn Israeli treatment of the Mayor of Nablus. The United States joined in the condemnation. Amnesty International, in a November 26 "Urgent Action" appeal, affirmed that Shakaa was a "prisoner of conscience".

Due to international efforts, and especially to Palestinian unity in the occupied territories, one "prisoner of conscience" is now free — only to be replaced by others.

The Human Rights Committee of the Ramallah Federation in the U.S. has organized an appeal demanding that the charges against Mayors Karim Khalaf and Ibrahim Tawil be dropped immediately. The petition has already been signed by Noam Chomsky, Jesse Jackson, Reverend Joseph Lowery and others. For more information or to add your endorsement, contact Jim Harb, POB 3851, Durham, NC 27702. Tel.: (919) 286-0747.



Farouk Kaddoumi

U.N. General Assembly Rejects Camp David, News Blackout in U.S.

The United States has opposed every step the United Nations has taken to affirm the rights of the Palestinian people. Such actions have included resolutions like U.N. Resolution 3236 that supports self-determination for the Palestinians, the establishment of special commissions like the Special Unit on Palestinian Rights, set up in 1977, and the declaration of November 29 as the International Day of Solidarity with Palestine.

This year, as part of activities for November 29, the U.N. General Assembly passed a crucial resolution condemning the Camp David agreements, and declaring the agreements "null and void" where they purport to deal with the Palestinian people. Not only did the U.S. oppose this resolution, but the U.S. media did not even report on this significant show of support for the Palestinians, who reject the "autonomy" formula proposed under Camp David as a legitimized form of occupation and slavery. The only mention of the resolution in the major American press came when the *New York Times* published Israel's criticism of the resolution.

Despite the deliberate myopia of the U.S. government and press, this year's International Day of Solidarity demonstrated a new level of support for the Palestinian people and their basic rights. In the U.N., France broke ranks with the rest of the European voting bloc, which consistently sides with the U.S., and abstained from voting on the resolution.

Palestine Solidarity Day: Activities Across U.S.

On the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, November 29, 1979, the Palestinian community and American supporters held many activities across the United States. At the United Nations, the Organization of Arab Students held a demonstration expressing their full support for the PLO. Mr. Shafik al-Hout, PLO representative from Beirut, spoke at the rally emphasizing the Palestinian will and determination to continue the struggle for liberation.

The Palestine Arab Fund held a special seminar in Los Angeles on the Palestinian struggle and in Chicago, the United Holy Land Fund held its annual dinner on December 2, with special guests Reverend Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH, Congressman Walter Fauntroy, and Ambassador Clovis Maksoud. They all emphasized that there will never be peace in the Middle East until the Palestinian people regain their full rights, including the right to an independent Palestinian state.

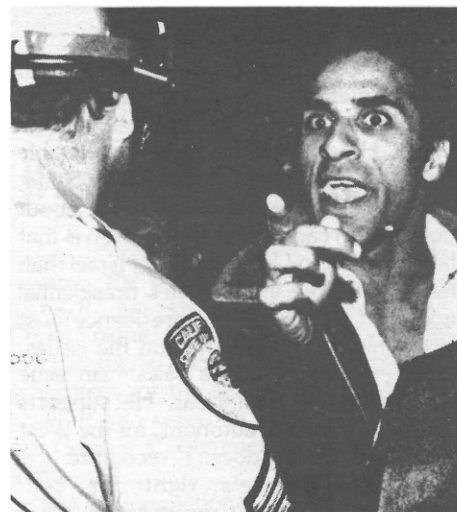
In New York, the Palestine Congress held a dinner in honor of the PLO delegation on December 2. In his speech, PLO Political Department head Farouk Kaddoumi, who had addressed the U.N. General Assembly on November 26, stressed that the PLO will continue its struggle everywhere until achieving victory and liberation.

Also in New York on November 30, the New York Palestine Solidarity Committee sponsored an "Urgent public meeting on the U.S. and the Palestinians" where 250 people heard PLO Permanent Observer to the U.N. Zudhi Terazi, peace activist David Dellinger and Black United Front leader Reverend Herbert Daughtry discuss U.S. policy towards the Palestinians.

Rashidiyeh: The Agony Goes On

On November 12, a U.S.-made cluster bomb exploded at the edge of the schoolyard at Rashidiyeh refugee camp in South Lebanon. Three children who were playing in the yard at recess were killed and eleven injured, one seriously. The cluster bomb, which was apparently dropped by Israeli planes during their August raids on Rashidiyeh, escaped detection because it was buried in the ground. It is an internationally banned anti-personnel weapon.

Palestinian schoolchildren in Rashidiyeh had only been able to attend their school for a few weeks when the tragedy occurred. The Rashidiyeh school, like all schools in the Tyre area, was severely damaged by Israeli shelling and bombing in the six months following the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli treaty. In the relative calm following the savage August bombardment, some



JDL protestor at California University

families have returned to Rashidiyeh to try to rebuild their homes and resume their normal lives.

On November 26, Israeli-isolationist forces shelled the village school in Yater, and followed this with heavy artillery shelling of Beufort Castle and Nabitiyeh. The Israeli war against South Lebanon still goes on, at a heavy price for Palestinian and Lebanese civilians in the South.

Jewish Defense League Threatens Palestinian Speaker

Speaking at California State University in Northridge, California, Dr. Hatem Hussaini, acting director of the Palestine Information Office, called for an end to the hatred, stereotyping, racism and anti-semitism that have characterized some American thinking towards the Middle East conflict.

Outside the hall, however, these attitudes were abundantly displayed by members of the Jewish Defense League, who had promised violence if Hussaini spoke on campus. They also taunted members of the Organization of Arab Students, chanting "Death to the Moslem pigs." Reflecting what is perhaps the most deeply-ingrained Zionist myth, they shouted, "3,5,7,9, no such thing as Palestine."

Hussaini's speech was part of a campus Human Rights week and was sponsored by the Associated Students. Several Jewish members of the Associated Students received threatening phone calls from the JDL on the afternoon of the speech, and JDL national director Irving Rubin, released on bail from a JDL riot in Beverly Hills, pledged that events on the night of the speech would make Beverly Hills "look like a tea party." Police prevented the JDL from carrying out their threat, but apparently, the "non-existent" cause of Palestine so threatens the JDL that they will use any fascist method— from anonymous phone calls to physical attacks— to prevent Palestinians from being heard.

Memorandum Presented To The Reverend Jesse Jackson and His Group on the Occasion of His Visit to Palestine 25/9/1979

For thousands of years before the Israeli occupation, the Palestinian people were living in peace and security on their lands. However, after the British Government began implementing the Balfour Declaration which gave the land to a people who did not own it, a series of tragedies and catastrophes started befalling our Palestinian people. Eventually, and at stages, between 1948 - 1967 all of Palestine became occupied by the Israelis and our people became subjected to the most inhuman, unjust and oppressive treatment. Homes were demolished, land and property confiscated; Jewish settlements surrounded our towns and villages; citizens were forcibly deported across the borders and young men and women were imprisoned and tortured sometimes to their death; attempts at suppressing our culture and folklore were continuously being made and our holy places were desecrated.

All during this period the occupiers were imposing the policy of "faits accomplis". Every new fact they imposed and every new land they confiscated became a basis for bargaining. At the same time there were persistent efforts at exterminating our people and suppressing their national identity. We were deprived of being our own spokesmen while every one else found it right and just to discuss our problem and to make detrimental decisions on our destiny and future. These decisions were often taken contrary to our national aspirations; but the resilience of the Palestinians and their unquestioned perseverance in the pursuit of their freedom and independence have

proven that we are a people worthy of life and all we aspire for is to live in freedom, peace and security like other people in the rest of the world.

In 1965 the PLO, emerging from the conscience and national consciousness of the Palestinian people, became the embodiment of their dreams and aspiration. It became the national forum for Palestinians everywhere, for their self-expression, their struggles and for their dedication and martyrdom for a just cause. Under its leadership, we, here in the West Bank, wish to express to world opinion our minimal demands for a just and peaceful settlement to our problem:-

I. The Palestinian problem is the core of the Arab-Israeli conflict and without the Palestinians under the leadership of the PLO, peace will never be attained.

II. The PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people everywhere, and it is the only body entitled to represent us in Arab or International conferences and forums; any attempt to put us under Arab or International mandate or protection will be categorically refused.

III. Total withdrawal from all occupied territories.

IV. The Right of Self-determination for the Palestinians and the right to establish an independent sovereign state categorically refusing the principle of home rule which has been proposed by the Camp David Treaty.

V. The right of all Palestinian refugees to return to their lands.

VI. The dismantlement of all settlements and an end to all oppressive and inhuman measures against those who raise their voices in protest against illegal settlements.

The Palestinians are a just and peaceful people, but they have been forced to carry arms and fight heroically for the restoration of their rights and homeland after having tried all other peaceful means and given up; and despite the most deadly sophisticated and modern weapons and equipment which are provided for by the U.S. government to Israel for the purpose of exterminating Palestinians everywhere and at all times, this people shall persist in its struggle until it achieves freedom and national independence.

As to "secure borders" which Israel uses as a pretence to its unceasing aggression, it is high time for the whole world to realize that force, oppressive measures, military precautions and preemptive wars will never secure peace and security as long as Israel persists in denying the inalienable rights of the Palestinians and continues to occupy and expand on Palestinian land.

Finally, we would like to appeal to all the peace-loving and just people and nations of the world to support us in our rightful claim to attain self-determination and national independence on our land; for as long as a right has been denied and a cause has been unsolved peace will not be forthcoming in this area or in the rest of the world.

*Palestinian Women in the
Occupied Territories
Jerusalem*

Israeli Settlers. . .

(Continued from page 5)

rapped with a pistol.

The three hurled rocks at close range through the windows of the classrooms, all of which are on the ground floor, injuring two girls, and fired at least 10 rounds into the air and into crowded classrooms, Palestinians said, but no one was injured.

The three assailants who chased the youths into a neighboring settlement began throwing stones at women and children who were outside, according to residents. One woman who would identify herself only by her first name, Subhayyeh, said she was holding her 6-month-old infant in her arms when the men came running, hurling stones at her.

She dived into her house, she said, but the

attackers pursued, smashing windows with stones and firing into the water tank on the roof. Three houses showed signs of damage today, one with a window smashed near a baby's crib, and tanks on two roofs were punctured by bullet holes. At a fourth house, rocks were thrown at solar heating panels on the roof this morning, breaking them.

"They have no conscience," said an elderly woman named Amneh. "They want to rule us by terrorizing our children." She had been pelted with stones, she said, as she was carrying a big jar of water on her head. When she ran away the water spilled, and she got soaked. She laughed, and so did her neighbors, a sour laugh.

When the three who were chasing the youths had finished with the houses,

witnesses said, they joined their comrades at the school. Small children were screaming, running and crying, hiding together with older ones, trying to stay away from the flying stones and bullets.

The assailants broke into the office of the principal, Samira Klebo, and the results could be seen today. Windows were broken, the glass front of a set of bookshelves was shattered, the contents of the shelves, trophies and books, were knocked over and the desk was on its side.

The students were kept out of classes today until the damage is repaired. Before a few girls who turned up this morning were sent home they drew on a blackboard two pistols firing at each other with the words, "guns of righteousness."

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